UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Outlaw War!

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Ernest Renan—A Prophet of France

By GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON

The Periscope

By EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES :Editors: FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCI THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1923 NUMBER 6

"SECOND COMING"*

(Inscribed to the political prisoners still serving sentences in our Federal Penitentiaries for alleged expression of opinion during the war.)

Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chaplin,
Our hearts have heard your call!
It would rend the foulest dungeon,
It would shake the fiercest wall.
It has reached the selfish city
Where the cruel people dwell
And the hardest hearts must listen
To the glory you would tell.

Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chaplin,
And all you shining men
Who went to jail that Jesus Christ
Might come to earth again.
O would that we who felt as you
Had shared a martyr's doom,
O would that I had dwelt as you
Within a prison's tomb!

But women carry burdens
That no man should ever take,
And many stayed behind to toil
For homely duty's sake.
But oh, if all had dared with you
The sacrifice and shame,
What splendor had we shared with you
Whose souls are free from blame!

Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chaplin,
And all you kingly men
Who serve the cause of liberty
From twenty years to ten,
Your names shall glow in history
As glows the Vesper star,
When love shall break the tyranny
That keeps you where you are.

How darkly shall the future tell
The tortures of this age,
In unbelieving sadness turn
The record of that page
Where leap the names of Turner
Thompson, Elliot and Gray . . .
They only said what Jesus Christ
So lovingly would say!

O'Connell, Green and Sheridan,
McKinnon, Foss and Kane;
Bernardi, Brewer, Anderson—
Your lives are not in vain!

James Quinlan, Roy Connor . . .
The world shall name you all.
Chris Luber, Graves and Gallagher,
Behind your prison wall
You shall pierce the people's apathy
With beauty's golden shout,
You shall batter down their hatreds
Till they let the martyrs out!

Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chaplin,
Our hearts have heard your call!
It is waking up your jailers
As the song of brother Paul.
It shall rend the world's malevolence
Till cruelties are done,
And out of wrong and pain at last
The new world is begun.
It shall tower in the sunlight
So that all the earth shall see
How "I, if I be lifted up
Shall draw all men to Me."

ANGELA MORGAN.

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UNITY takes pleasure and pride in announcing a fresh addition to its staff in the person of Mr. Robert B. Whitaker, who will serve as Foreign Representative in China. Mr. Whitaker is a nephew of Rev. Robert Whitaker, formerly of Los Gatos, California, more recently of Seattle as incumbent in the absence of Dr. Sydney Strong, well known to readers of UNITY for his contributions to its columns. Mr. Whitaker, the nephew, has been located in China for some years past, and is closely in touch with progressive religious and social movements in that country. He is described by his uncle as "a pronounced pacifist, and one of those rare beings, a real Christian." UNITY congratulates its readers on this accession to its staff, and looks forward to frequent articles and reports from Mr. Whitaker's pen.

The primary task of UNITY is to interpret religion in terms of democracy. There is no *status quo* in life. The spirit of man is ever pushing men farther and farther on in the great adventure. Every new age reveals man clamouring for more and greater opportunities for the realization of the fullness and richness of life. Ancient man stumbled along in the darkness of ignorance. He had no vision. He knew not whither he was going. Modern man knows something of the past. He has some conception of the laws of an orderly progressive life. He has a vision of the future. He dreams at least of a better world. The wide diffusion of education has placed a power in the hands of the common man which he will never relinquish. Once his children must inherit his station and place in society. Now he is willing to suffer and toil, but he revolts at the idea that his children have no right to greater opportunities for life than he has had. He who thinks that the labor movement is a matter merely of wages, shorter hours and better working conditions fails utterly to understand what is going on in the

world. The colored woman who said, "we do not want anything for ourselves but we are determined that our children shall have a chance," spoke not only for her people but also for all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. Not even the war could blot this hope out of the hearts of the peoples of the earth. This is witnessed to by the international organizations of women who are fiercely determined that their children shall not be cannon fodder. What we are confronted with is not merely a hunger on the part of the dispossessed for a larger share of the good things of the material world, but the deep passionate inarticulate determination of great masses of people to secure for their children and their children's children a larger opportunity for the attainment of fullness and richness of life. Here and there we find persons like the colored woman quoted above who really know what all this stress and urge is about. But for the most part it is a blind push forward on the part of those who can only dimly feel and little know the forces that are at work in and through them. It is to the task of helping to interpret to men and women of today this stirring and striving in the name of religion that UNITY has set itself. For without religion which reveals the unity of life and binds men in a common endeavor, this movement will become a maelstrom in which the ideals and hopes of men will be sucked down into the nethermost hell. The striving and struggle of the peoples caught in the grip of customs, traditions and ideas of a spent age are the evidence of the life which ever seeks to reveal itself in the experience of the race. This is "the revealing of the sons of God"! So to interpret it, is the business of religion today. To talk of religion in terms of yesterday, is mere foolish chatter. Life has swept away from its old moorings. The doctrinal unity of medieval times is gone and gone forever. Life is on the high seas once more, "seeking countries rich and new." It is the religion of democracy, the religion that claims not for some but for all the fullness of life, that must guide it on its venturous way. It is because this is, as religion always is, the great business of mankind, that UNITY is seeking the co-operation of all those men and women who see underneath the unrest of the age the workings of the divine spirit.

The invasion of the Ruhr rudely interrupted the advance of the movement in the United States looking toward membership on the part of our government in the League of Nations. However it soon revived with the support of many earnest, sincere men and women, and loads of money. Even now we are told that if the United States were a member of the League France would not have invaded Germany at this time. Just how our membership would galvanize the League into life, no one has as yet risen to explain. But we are none the less being urged to take our stand with other nations and join the League in the name of our moral responsibility. UNITY has from the beginning opposed America's participation in the League. It has done this not because it wishes that our country evade any moral responsibility, every reader of UNITY understands that; but because support of the League would be a violation of every moral principle, every ethical ideal for which UNITY has stood all the years of its existence. It is well to remember that the Covenant of the League is a part and parcel of that Punic Treaty executed at Versailles. To favor the League even now would be to give our approval to a document that can not be called by the farthest stretch of the imagination, a peace treaty. It is rather a shrill clarion call to war. It should also be kept in mind that the League is a League of governments and not of peoples. Its machinery is specially designed for carrying out the designs of imperialistic powers as expressed in the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Our objections are supported by the presence of Art. XVI in the Covenant. By some curious blindness to real facts most of the advocates of the League fail to recognize how inhuman this article is. It pledges the members of the League to the use of the economic boycott against any people whose government violates the Covenant. Those who do see what this means excuse it by saying that it would be so cruel in its operation that it would never be used. But it has been used and it did not stop war. A prominent English woman, who visited Germany shortly after the Armistice, said that if the English people could have visualized the effects of the blockade they would have demanded its being given up immediately in spite of any military advantage. The blockade was an economic boycott. It is a weapon the effects of the use of which make ordinary war look like a pink tea party. It strikes not at those who can fight, not at the strong and rich, but at the weak and helpless, the babies and the aged. And with all its cruelty it has not even the virtue of giving any hope that it will prevent war. Never will we have the situation where one nation is opposed to all the rest. It will be combination against combination, balance of power against balance of power. And one side will take a chance against Art. XVI. War has not been abolished and will not be by the horrors of war. It would not be if they were raised to the nth degree. If it were so, wars would have ceased long ago. We do not believe that the threat to kill off babies will accomplish the desire of the ages. And armies directed by the League of Nations will not do it, though they might be very efficient in the control of undeveloped peoples. These are some of the reasons why UNITY is opposed to the League and why it gives its whole support to the movement which has for its purpose the outlawing of war.

"United States Wins to Participate in Mosul Oil." So the big black type headlines say! And at last the secret is out. No, the Government at Washington has

not been drifting during the past strenuous weeks. We were mistaken in thinking so. While Europe was being pushed into an abyss, its peoples, wandering about in the darkness of despair, its children starving, the government of the richest and most powerful country in the world has been concerned with oil. Deaf to the cries of humanity, blind to the acts of men apparently insane with the lust for vengeance, unconcerned that a civilization totters on the brink of a great precipice we are engaged in an unholy struggle for oil. In the midst of the welter of war against an unarmed people to whom we pledged peace, a peace based on the Fourteen Points, we are not concerned with our honor but with oil. For with oil we can praise the Lord, with oil we can sanctify our bodies and run our limousines and flivvers. But our government is not devoting itself merely to getting a look in on the Mosul Country for the Standard Oil company. It is busily engaged in endeavoring to collect from its associates in war $259,000,000, due it for the maintenance of an army in Germany. This money has been paid but our government let it fall into the hands of the Allies. Now we are insistent that it should be turned over to us. But it has long since been swallowed up in various little wars, and in preparation for the next great war. Ten millions of it went recently to Poland. And now we are informed that we must get it out of Germany! France, engaged in the business of accomplishing the economic ruin of her enemy, invites us to join in the process and thus get our money. This might be the way to get the money and again it might not. At any rate we believe that the American people would gladly forget all about it rather than become mixed up in this business of ruining a people which has already suffered enough.

On March 8th last, the Oxford Union, the famous undergraduate debating society of Oxford University, England, held what the despatches call "a remarkable debate." *Remarkable?*—we should say so! What do you suppose the subject was? Listen! "Resolved, that this house considers, in view of the present condition in Europe, that the overwhelming defeat of Germany has been a misfortune both for Europe and for this country." A shock, isn't it? Think of a group of "Oxford gentlemen," met under "the grey spires of Oxford," seriously debating such a subject as that! Why, there are a half-a-hundred men in prison here in America for saying less. But now if the shock is over a bit, and its effects subsided, just get ready for the next upset! These students debated this question, as we have said, and then what do you suppose they did? Shades of Flanders Fields!—they voted—brace yourself now!—they voted—they sure did!—in the *affirmative* by 155 to 121. This sounds like returning to the "normalcy" of Woodrow Wilson's "peace without victory," doesn't it? It means that, had the statesmen of England and France been wise instead of foolish, sane instead of insane, they would have made peace with Germany in the fall of 1916, as the pacifists wanted them to do. It means that America should never have gone into the war, but forced a settlement in the spring of 1917 by serving notice on all the combatants that they could pull their own chestnuts out of the fire. Good for these Oxford boys! They have wise heads on their young shoulders. Also, as is very plain, England is learning something. Would we were doing the same in this country!

Another indication of British frankness and honesty is seen in a recent editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* which gently takes the Paris *Temps* to task for indiscreetly objecting to some German propaganda. We quote from the editorial.

> This is a matter in which we ought all by this time to have learned to avoid throwing stones. Our Allied propaganda during the war was efficient, and, as everyone now knows, it and the German propaganda often threw aside scruples. We believe that the German propaganda was the more untruthful of the two, but that of the Allies did some things which ought to keep us from being censorious for sometime to come. Some of the faked photographs of atrocities, for example, have long been notorious. Of course it is right to examine and answer any post-war misrepresentations that may be issued in Germany either in print, or by way of photograph or film. But it will be well to avoid anything like posing on a pinnacle of virtue while condemning them.

This somewhat amazing confession of "faked photographs of atrocities," impells us to ask in what way did the propaganda of the Germans surpass that of the Allies. They certainly were adepts in the art of deception if they did. And this reminds us of the story brought back to America by a prominent publicist. The story is that a member of the "Information" service of England was given a dinner on his return after the war. The usual toasts were proposed and speeches eloquent with praise were made in honor of the distinguished citizen who had served his country so well. After the toasts this gentleman offered his reply. He declared that he did not deserve a word that had been said. He had been engaged in the greatest atrocity of the war. It is bad to kill men's bodies but, he said, "I have been engaged in the process of killing men's souls." Even if this particular story is not true, the fact remains that it is true in essence. The greatest tragedy of the war was not the killing of bodies, awful as that was, but the killing of souls by the propaganda of hate.

One of the leading articles in a current magazine tells a sorry and sad tale of how a man who had perpetrated a great fraud was disclosed to the world as a most prodigious liar. We can not possibly conceive how this repetition of a journalistic coup of a dozen years ago can have the slightest interest to the world today. But evidently the editor thought it would have. The author, Sir Philip Gibbs, must have thought so too. We have no doubt but what Sir Philip is a noble

and chivalrous gentleman. He had at least courage enough to tell some truth after the war was over. He thereby admits that he did not tell the truth while the war was on. It seems that this fact might have made him deal a bit gently with the prevaricator of an earlier day. But it does not. He tells the miserable story with great gusto and evident satisfaction. Sir Philip is a modern knight. We believe it was not the custom of ancient knights to hit any man when he was down. No doubt at the time when the lie was spread broadcast it was a real service to mankind to reveal the untruthfulness of the fraudulent claims. But somehow it strikes us that the performance of such a duty could only be a matter of sorrow. We fail to see how anyone can take pleasure in the discovery that another man is a liar. That man is now down and we fail to understand the ethics of pushing him farther down. But the question that most interests us is this, are the American people really interested in this re-hash of the story of a man's downfall, even if it is told as a remarkable journalistic feat which brought fame to the author. We believe that they are not. There still remains in us something of that spirit of chivalry. This man was punished and punished terribly. Perhaps his fault was due to a mental quirk for which he was not responsible. Many think so. At any rate we think that most Americans would be willing to say, "Let him alone, he has had enough."

Anthropologists of the highest standing have recently made clear that the word "race" cannot be applied to the Jewish people. There is no German race or French race. There is a German people, racially very much mixed, and there is a French people also very much mixed. So there is a Jewish people who are, if anything, more mixed than the Germans or the French. There are no racial characteristics which belong in common to Spanish, French, German, Polish, Russian and all the other Jews that are scattered over the earth. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing in the world today as a pure race. There is but one race —*i.e.*, the human race. The peoples of the world have been in process of admixture for millenniums. If there ever were any pure races in the world, they have long since disappeared. Whatever differences among peoples exist in Europe today, are due to climate and culture. There is one fact in reference to the Jewish people that is seldom recognized, or if recognized not emphasized. Since the period of Esdras, the Jewish people have been members of a religious organization, that is a church. The condition of marriage has not been ancestory, but obedience to the Law. This has been the center about which the whole of Jewish life has revolved. When the Jew ceased to obey the Law, he ceased to be a Jew. This fact might have resulted in the fixing of certain characteristics if it were not for two other facts. The first is the wide mixture of the Jews due to their location and to their dispersion before the establishment of the Law. The second is the fact that, after the Jewish people accepted the Law, they became a proselyting people, against which the Roman Empire legislated in vain. In a decaying paganism they had a high moral culture and a definite basis of propaganda. Converts to Judaism were made among Arabs, Persians, Parthians, Slavs, Greeks, Romans and Germanic peoples. This process was checked by Christianity, but it continued until Christianity had become the dominant religion. Even then, we read of sporadic cases of conversion to Judaism in Western Europe, and among these were prominent churchmen. Kings and princes were among their converts; and in some cases large numbers of their subjects accepted Judaism, and at least in one case an entire Slavic nation. The Jewish people have been entirely right in insisting that the Immigration Bureau list them as nationals of the countries from which they emigrated. It would be as sensible to list all the Catholics who come from various countries in Europe as members of a Catholic race, as to register all members of the Jewish faith as Jews. The first thing necessary to understand about the Jewish people is that they are bound together by the ties of religion. The second thing is that they have the diversified characteristics that one finds in any other group of people. With these two facts in mind, we can think intelligently about a people who have made as large a contribution to our common culture as any other group.

We have long admired Arthur Train as one of the best story-tellers of the day. His tales of Mr. Tutt, for example, have amused us more than anything else of the kind that we have read since the early Sherlock Holmes stories of Conan Doyle. We have never thought of Mr. Train, however, as a great novelist or even as a serious literary figure. Perhaps this is because we have never read his later novels, such as "The Gold Fish" and "The Earthquake." But we have just now read his current volume, entitled "His Children's Children," and we find ourselves all of a sudden revising our opinion of the author in a decidedly upward direction. This is a remarkably able and to us a genuinely important piece of work. It is strong on the story-telling rather than on the psychological side—excells in plot and incident rather than in character analysis. Simply as a story, however, it is superb—well written, skillfully constructed, full of life and color, profoundly moving in the logical process of events unfolding into the dramatic climax of the concluding chapters. But apart from all this, which marks no mean achievement in true literary art, "His Children's Children" has great significance as a social study of the times. It presents with startling verisimilitude the life that is being lived by our young men and women in the wealthier classes of society—its

frivolity, its vulgarity, its immorality, and its ultimate and unescapeable "wages of sin." There is no preaching in the book—just the depiction in vivid colors of our post-war age as it exists in the lives of our so-called best people. In a period of typically decadent fiction, this book comes as a breath of fresh air in a pest-house. It is terrible, of course, as all transcripts of life are terrible; but beautiful, also, as every utterance of true prophecy is beautiful. Mr. Train has wrought well, and thus deserves well of his generation.

So many things are happening these days, upon which we desire to make comment, that we find it impossible to keep pace with the procession of events. In sheer despair of being able to say what we would like to say, we venture to set down here certain occurrences of interest, and ask our readers to supply of themselves our observations. Thus, we rejoice to read the story of the sinking of the old "Iowa" as a target for the guns of our more modern battleships. One less man-o'-war afloat, at any rate! But why stop with the "Iowa"? Why not go right on using battleship after battleship as a target for the rest, until there is only one vessel left, and then use that as a target for a bombing-plane? We can imagine no better use to which this mechanical junk can be put. Again, we notice that the Fascisti are planning to extend their organization to this country. But why carry coals to Newcastle in this ridiculous fashion? One would think that the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion were as good exponents of Fascism as could possibly be desired. A rich man, well-known socially, has become involved in a scandalous murder case. With touching solicitude, the district-attorney kept his name for days from the public, for the sake of his reputation and the comfort of his wife and family. When was a poor man ever treated thus? Or is it that a poor man is not supposed to have a reputation or his family any comfort? Does any one remember the hullabaloo in this country last summer over the tyranny of the Russian government in putting on trial a group of men charged with conspiracy to overthrow the Soviets by force and violence? Terrible, wasn't it? And yet here we are now doing the same with a group of Communists in Michigan—with this difference, that the Russian defendants were guilty of acts, while our defendants are guilty only of words. Funny world, isn't it?

Outlaw War!

The undersigned editor of UNITY makes no excuse for continuing actively each week his discussion of the Borah Resolution for the Outlawry of War. He knew this plan when it was a vague, inchoate idea stirring uncomfortably in the mind of a single man, Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, of Chicago, who hated war, was disillusioned by all attempts to get rid of war, and was groping for some way out from what seemed to be a hopeless *impasse*. The editor saw this plan begin to grow and take shape in a mind of masterful ability and infinite resource—slowly fashioned, like steel, alternately in the hot furnaces of fervent humanitarian passion and the cooling atmosphere of reason and abundant knowledge, into a well-wrought program of reform. He saw this plan gain the support of Senator Knox, a conservative statesman, trained in the law and in the traditions of diplomacy. He saw it capture the imagination and allegiance of Senator Borah, a radical statesman, trained in the law and in the understanding of the people and their desire for peace and brotherhood. He saw it bring conviction to John Dewey, the greatest philosophic mind of our time in America, as see the article reprinted in these columns last week from *The New Republic*. He saw it at last submitted to the United States Senate, as a formal Resolution calling for action by the government in co-operation with the other governments of the world, at first greeted with indifference or ridicule, then swiftly winning support as it came to be understood, most notably the support of the New York *World*, the ablest edited newspaper in America, as see the editorial reprinted in these columns last week. And for months past he has seen this program presented to popular audiences in all parts of America, and everywhere greeted with shouts of acclaim so rapturous as to touch the heart with mingled pain and joy. Now the plan is before the country, a campaign is organizing for its support, translations of the papers involved are being made for its introduction into no less than eight foreign countries, and Senator Borah is girding up his loins for a battle which promises to make this program the one great issue of the day. What wonder that this editor of UNITY is not only interested but excited! He believes that a new idea has been brought forth in this sorely troubled age, conceived in common-sense, and dedicated to the proposition that men must and can get rid of war. He is certain that all that is needed to make this idea a success is the education of the people to know what it means and how it can be put into effective action. He is eager to do his part, and have UNITY do its part, in carrying on this work of education. We were "in" at the start; we propose to be "in" at the close, and at every step of the triumphant way between.

The Levinson-Borah program for solving the war problem has been described and interpreted so often in these columns, that it is unnecessary, at least for the present, to outline its various items again. Rather would we point out at this time how perfectly the plan fits in with the whole democratic tradition and

precedent here in America for getting rid of the social evils which afflict us. How did the people of this country get rid of slavery and duelling, and how are they now getting rid of liquor and prostitution? By a campaign, or battle, which has three distinctive features, or steps of reform!

(1) First of all, there comes the task of arousing the people to understand that a certain institution—slavery, duelling, the saloon, or what not—is an evil; and then of mobilizing the sentiment thus generated, for action. The abolitionists did this great work of public agitation against chattel slavery in the days before the Civil War; the prohibitionists and total abstainers did it against the liquor traffic in the last two generations or more. The pacifists have long done it against war—and the Great War, with its horrid revelation of what modern warfare means, well-nigh completed the job. The men and women of this generation at least are pretty well aroused against war; they hate it with all their heart and mind and soul and strength, as "the sum of all villainies," and are ready to move against it.

(2) Secondly, the work of moral revolt having been accomplished, there comes the step of writing the sentiments of this moral revolt, by due process of legislation, into law. What has come to be regarded as a sin, or an abomination, is now officially pronounced to be a *crime*, to be duly punished as such by government. The institution, in other words, which has won the moral condemnation of society, is now visited with its heaviest legal penalties. It is outlawed, made disreputable in law and custom, banished from the practice and approval of decent men. Thus slavery, and later the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, were abolished by constitutional amendment; duelling was cast outside the social pale by statute law; prostitution, by state and national laws, municipal police and health ordinances, and now elaborate international agreements, is being fought to a finish. Outlawry is the stroke by which sooner or later we bring death to the evils with which society cannot live in peace and safety.

Now it is interesting to note—and this is not usually known, or at least realized!—that war has never been treated in this drastic fashion. Up to the present moment, and including the present moment, it has always been accepted by all nations as a right, a proper, indeed in frequent instances an inevitable course of action. Any nation can declare war any time it wants to, and every other nation (except the enemy) must remain neutral—*i.e.*, recognize the war as legal and therefore not to be interfered with. The farthest that society has ever attempted to go is to regulate war—to define the conditions under which it shall be declared, to lay down the rules on the basis of which it shall be fought, to impose (if possible!) the limits within which it shall be confined. We have treated war, in other words, up to date, from the standpoint of the European system of regulating evil and not of the American system of abolishing evil. The status of war is exactly that of prostitution in most European countries. It is condoned, endorsed, controlled and therefore protected, sanctioned legally and therefore perpetuated. Now if any social principle is well established in these scientific days, it is that regulation does not even regulate, much less abolish. Of war it must be said what Abraham Flexner said of prostitution in his "Prostitution in Europe" (1914):

> Be the outlook for its extermination good or bad, favorable or unfavorable, . . . the whole weight of the state's power and influence must be thrown against it. . . . If positive measures are feasible, they must be taken; if social disapproval is even slightly deterrent, it must be proclaimed with all the authority of society. "The law must be a teacher" in so far at least as it embodies an expression of what ought to be. It is absurd to suppose that the state can take this position . . . and yet authorize prostitution on any ground whatsoever—absurd to preach continence and to license vice. (Page 283.)

Now it is upon the basis of this principle that the Levinson-Borah scheme proposes to procede. It would transform the present moral condemnation of war into legal banishment by writing a code of international law in which war, like piracy, shall be written down as a crime. No more neutrality—every war-maker is to be hunted down and punished like a highwayman, or a pirate on the high seas! No more rules—the act of war itself, and not the use of certain weapons, etc., is to be forbidden! No more regulation—war is to be outlawed, as highway robbery is outlawed, as piracy is outlawed, as duelling is outlawed! Piracy is the perfect example of what is meant. Piracy yesterday, like war to-day, offered a field of glory for gallant gentlemen—witness Francis Drake, Henry Hawkins, and Elizabethan seamen generally. To-day piracy is a crime—and the pirate a criminal; Drake to-day would be hanged from the nearest gallows! So with war tomorrow under this plan! War will be a crime, the soldier a criminal, the soldier's uniform a convict's garb, the army a disgrace and infamy! This program means business. It challenges the nations to toe the mark, and really prove whether or not they hate war and would get rid of it.

(3) But there is a third step which must be taken in any thorough-going action against a social evil. I refer to the fact that a substitute must be provided for the abomination which it is sought to abolish. For every evil, however gross, performs some useful or necessary social function. Otherwise it would not exist at all—but perish of itself! Even piracy did its work, and did not disappear until taken over by the semi-legal system of "letters of marque and reprisal." Slavery was an almost inevitable institution until replaced by some system of free labor. Duelling, which is our best illustration in this case, was quickly abolished when society once moved against it, because an instant substitute was already at hand in courts of law.

Now the analogy here in the matter of war is exact. War performs, and always has performed, a necessary social function. It is the only recognized method in the world for the ultimate settlement of disputes between nations. Internationally speaking, we are in the same situation to-day that the Germanic tribes were in the days of Rome, when all disputes were referred to the court of last resort—namely, "the ordeal by battle." Now if war is ever to be abolished by something more than an ineffective legal gesture, it must be by providing, in addition to a statute of outlawry, a social institution which will settle peacefully by reason what is now settled on the field of battle by force. What we must establish, in other words, is a court—not a fake, imitation court like those hitherto organized, but a real court, with original and absolute powers of jurisdiction. It is this which is definitely provided in the Levinson-Borah program as the culminating feature of this whole great scheme of statesmanship.

It is by these steps that this plan for the abolition of war proposes to work out the problem. It is at bottom an application to the international field in the case of war, of exactly the same system of social procedure which we have followed here in America in battling against every existing evil. Get behind it, Americans! You can do the job because you know the way!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

An Observer in Berlin

Editorial Correspondence.

"Will England and America Help Germany?" was the topic up for discussion by a group of 40 students last evening. They all spoke in English. It was the regular Friday evening meeting at Behrenstrasse 26a, promoted by the English Quakers. It was quite informal, one young chap getting through a "5 minute limit on speeches" and then speaking 15 minutes at a stretch and a dozen times, by interspersion.

It was quite agreed that nothing could satisfy France, who is "less interested in money than in violent appropriation." It was thought that England and America were under obligation to help Germany since they helped to disarm her. One young man said that he had but one word in answer to the question, what will England and America do for Germany? It was "Nothing!" It was generally thought that both England and America—while wanting to have a prosperous Germany for a purchaser—would be economically interested in cutting out Germany as a competitor, which could be done (1) By stabilizing the mark, or (2) By cutting off her coal supply.

I was a little distressed and humiliated by the talk of an American present, who frequently threw in phrases like "you folks," and said that "Americans were peace-loving" and cited, as an instance, our trouble with Mexico, that "we did not go in until the Mexicans had been incessantly firing across the border on our folks." He had apparently not smelt oil Mexico-ward. One intelligent American woman said that the American Civil Governor at Coblenz told her that he was hoping that there would be something like military intervention on the part of England and America who would agree to guarantee the integrity of France against Germany. She also referred to a change in American sentiment, due to the building up of a farmers' bloc, representing raw material—wheat, corn and cotton. This bloc might move the American government.

What disappointed me was the absence of a self-reliant spirit, such as I should expect in a group of American boys, at least the American boys of my generation. This group of students may not be typical—I do not know (Later: I understand they are not)—and yet, gathered as they were in a debating club in English Quaker rooms, they should be spiritually vigorous.

I detected only an occasional note urging Germany to rely upon herself, to turn from material to spiritual forces. When it was intimated that Germany should rely upon herself, it was for the reason that she could not get help from England and America. I may be mistaken—I hope I am—for there may have been some silent Luther in the room who will call his comrades' attention to the real riches of Germany, who will declare the principles of Jesus and Marx together—religion and economics—and appeal to the soul of the people. I am aware that it is asking too much of a nation to display independence after suffering nearly nine years of war and starvation. I am confident, however, that Germany in her need will be turned (compelled perhaps) to eternal realities. She may lose her markets, but I believe that this great people that has shown such wonderful creative power—in art, music, science, religion—will before many decades find her soul-power. She has undoubtedly a lot of suffering to endure, but I do not forget that the highest ethical revelation is that of a "suffering servant." Germany has certain elements—idealism, mysticism, application, thoroughness, which correlated and touched into life will bring her great beauty and power. I wish I could have detected more of it in the students' group.

Let me pass on one remark that was made by a prominent American social worker to the effect that the invasion of the Ruhr by the French was "the hardest blow democracy had ever sustained in Europe." He also stated that he was in a position to say that the moral stamina of the German people had not yet been broken by the enforced poverty. Only under the greatest pressure and necessity did they appeal for help—which one is glad to hear, and to expect from a people who have braved so many storms. While I am thinking of this social worker, let me quote other weighty observations. He is familiar with relief work that America, during the past four years, has promoted in Europe—from Paris to Moscow. He has known the workers by the score, heard their experiences and visited the fields. He says that Americans have helped women and children by the million, and America has become endeared in tens of thousands of homes. America—through the government and through private enterprise—has done a great work; a work in which he himself has been a part.

"But," said he with great earnestness, "no relief agency can deal adequately with the situation. Deep fundamental changes are necessary. As a result of the war and its aftermath there

has been a collapse of faith and confidence. Our American charity touches only the surface. The deeper life of the people must be reorganized. Trust and confidence must be restored."

"It must be remembered," another social worker said, "that this generation of Germans, from 1914 to 1923, have been cut off from all knowledge of America."

I feel certain that my friend is right; and if America is to help Europe, she must, through government, through churches, through schools, express what is essential to peace. For anyone at this time to suggest war even against the "unspeakable Turk"—whose reputation, these days, compares quite favorably with the Greek, Roman and any "defenders of the faith"—is madness. Our leaders must lie awake nights planning how to lay on the conscience of the people the restoration and reconciliation of Europe. Is Germany to go the way of Austria and Poland—into bankruptcy? If she does, I do not see how the plague can be stayed until it reaches France and probably England —and America is not immune.

All of which started the following line of thought: It will take 25 or 50 years for two such peoples as the English and the Germans to recover the relations that existed in 1913. This making of new social, political, religious contacts is a slow process. Before the war there were thousands of points of contact, in intermarriages, inter-church congresses, inter-trade relations, etc., etc. They cannot be restored within 50 years. But suppose they are slowly and painfully restored—what then? Is it to have them broken again in the same old way and then go through the process again and again? One thing is certain: war must be outlawed! I am seeking to discover the way to the abolition of war! For why strive to renew relations, when in the shadow lurks war?

And now let me refer to an interesting group of people I met last Saturday night. They were gathered under the name of "Longfellow Club." How surprised and touched our popular Longfellow would have been to look in on the gathering. This club meets at Cafe Leon, Nollendorf Platz, every Saturday night. It is composed of 75 or 100 Germans; but the language spoken at all the meetings is English. What is more this club is twenty years old. What is more the club held its sessions all through the war. When I recall what was done in America during the war, in the name of patriotism; that music like Beethoven's was tabooed, that the name of Humboldt was erased from street signs, that my own college—a child of poverty, persecution and freedom—was eager to prove that Oberlin, who gave the name to the college, was Swiss and not German, I feel like taking off my hat to the German tolerance, as shown in this Longfellow Club. The club did not meet in a corner either, but in a public cafe.

It would be impossible for the reader to guess the theme for discussion. It was "Moore's Irish Melodies" with Professor Wendlandt for leading speaker. I give a few of the topics that will be discussed in the Longfellow Club, with its one hundred English-speaking Germans for the Saturday nights during February: "Egypt," "Amenities of Life," "A Turkish Napoleon," Browning's "Old Pictures in Florence." Tom Moore would have been pleased to listen to his melodies and with them "The Last Rose of Summer," which, said the speaker, "you all know."

January 20. SYDNEY STRONG.

Ernest Renan—A Prophet of France*

A recent editorial in one of our newspapers in enumerating the names of famous people born in 1823 concludes with the statement that only one at the present time is included because of transcendant genius, and that one is Ernest Renan. Whether this estimate is correct or not the centenary of his birth renews our interest in this versatile French writer who is known to the world as a scholar, historian, heretic and prophet.

Ernest Renan was born in Treguier, Brittany, February 23, 1823. It has been asserted that he was of Jewish ancestry. Whether this is true or not he was a Breton in temperament, and his early environment greatly influenced his life.

The folk-lore learned upon his mother's knee, the legends of the peasant neighbors, and the majesty and beauty of the old cathedral were influences never to be outgrown.

His early schooling was under the guidance of the parish priests, and in after years he wrote of them:

> These worthy men were my first spiritual guides, and I have them to thank for whatever may be good in me. Their every word was my law, and I had so much respect for them that I never thought to doubt anything they told me until I was sixteen years of age, when I came to Paris. Since that time I have studied under many teachers far more brilliant and learned, but none have inspired such feelings of veneration.

It was because of his respect and reverence for these priests that he decided to become a priest and went to Paris to study at the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

Mentally he was essentially rationalistic and it did not take him long to discover that he was not fitted for orders in the Roman church. His talent for languages was soon noticed and he applied himself assiduously to the study of both the ancient and modern. It was through the study of German that he became familiar with the methods and results of German historical criticism. It was through the influence of German scholarship in part at least that he found an interest in Semitic philology and religion, a field in which he was destined to win great honors.

The student of French literature cannot long escape the fact that the characteristic of the great writers of France is clearness and lucidity of style combined with a certain vigor and directness of expression and the use of happy idioms. Foreigners are apt to suspect a lack of depth and thoroughness in French scholarship because of the nimble Gallic wit and brilliancy of literary expression.

In point of fact, however, the Frenchman when he turns his attention to any serious study is as thorough and painstaking as the German and his powers of imagination are probably unequalled by any other Europeans. As a result he is quite apt to be in the lead in science, philosophy, and the fields of critical investigation.

Renan was a particularly brilliant example of French ability to unite literary genius with profound scholarship.

When he turned his attention to Semitic literature the world profited by his choice. Even the bitterest of

*Address delivered at Whitman, Mass., Feb. 25, 1923, to commemorate the centenary of Ernest Renan.

his critics agree that his *"Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques"* is a work of great value to all interested in Oriental philology and history.

It was his "Life of Jesus," however, which gave him his widest fame. This book is in reality a part of a more pretentious undertaking, "The History of the Origins of Christianity."

While inferior to much of his other work in point of scholarship, and full of defects from the critical standpoint, it is safe to say that few if any of the hundreds of books which have been written upon this subject have had a greater influence upon modern religious thinking and a more stimulating effect in the field of religious controversy.

Sixty years have not cooled the heat of theological discussion generated by this book, and we may expect that the renewed interest occasioned by Renan's centenary will add fresh fuel to the flame.

In writing this book Renan visited Syria to obtain the local coloring and first hand information concerning Oriental life and thought. To the information thus obtained he added a profound knowledge of Semitic languages, and a rational discrimination in relation to what is myth and what is history.

The vivid imagination which he inherited from Breton and Gascon ancestors does not invalidate the worth of his book and the language and style made it as interesting as a romance.

Its appearance produced a profound emotion throughout the religious world. Ten years later it had been translated into most European languages and had become a theological storm center. Twenty years served to accentuate the controversy.

Thirty years from the date of its publication someone, I think it was John D. McPherson, said:

> Its appearance was not only a literary event, but a social and religious event of vast importance. It was the first time that the life of Christ had been written from a purely laical point of view, and apart from any supernatural conceptions, it was a book destined, not for the doctors and theologians, but for the general public.

It is true that Renan indulged in sarcasm and witticisms, and sometimes seemed flippant when dealing with the serious and sacred. There was a vein of the sceptic and dilettante in his makeup, and at times he seemed vulgar. This impression was due in part to his personal appearance. He was short in stature and in later life extremely stout. One of his pupils describes him as follows:

> His features were coarse and strong; in his face there was a kindly expression, which often changed to irony as he spoke. The general carelessness of his dress, his disheveled hair, and neck-tie needing readjustment, intensified the first feeling of disappointment.

From my study of Renan I am convinced that at heart he was sincere and had a most profound desire to know and teach the truth. Like Lincoln he often had a jest upon his tongue when the deep things of life were upon his mind.

It has been my observation that a man's own testimony concerning himself is the most valuable in helping others to judge his character.

In his old age he wrote

> Celestial Father, I thank thee for life! It has been sweet and precious to me, surrounded as I have been by excellent beings who have not allowed me to doubt thy designs. . . . I have loved truth, and I have made sacrifices for it; I have desired thy day, and I still believe in it. Thy joys are promised the sincere man; the frivolous man shall not approach thee.

He was a man of ideals, perhaps due to some extent to feminine influences.

I do not remember any reference to his father in his writing, but several times he speaks of his mother. There is a sweet human touch in his relation of how as a little boy he used to look up from his work and say, "Mamma, are you satisfied with me?"

The great and lasting influence of his life was his sister Henriette. She was the guiding star of his youth, and the companion and co-laborer of his early manhood. He often speaks of her in such words as these: "The person who had the greatest influence on my life, my sister Henriette."

> My sister Henriette, so lofty, so pure, who at twenty years of age, led me into the path of reason, and lent me her hand to traverse a difficult passage.

When she died by the Syrian sea he honored her memory by writing a perfect tribute. He never lost his reverence for womanhood. "I was brought up by women and priests; therein lies the whole explanation of my good qualities and my defects," he once said. "There is a priest's and a woman's disdain in my awkwardness. In my manner of feeling I am three quarters a woman." It was this feminine quality which gave him his idealism.

One of his biographers says,

> Let us think of him as Thales who looked so long upward to the stars, heedless of the earth on which he walked, that he at last fell into the water. It was afterwards said that had he looked into the water he might have seen the stars, but looking to the stars he could not see the water.

I speak of him as a prophet despite the assertion made at the time of his death that "he was in no sense a prophet."

If we think of a prophet as a super-Puritan thundering against the evils of his day and invoking divine wrath upon a guilty generation, he fails to measure up to the standard. If a prophet is a man with a passion for truth, and possessed with an overmastering zeal to proclaim the discovery of that truth to mankind, we have a splendid example of a prophet.

We must remember that he was something more than a priest, a theologian, or a historian. His interest was in country, life, and society as well as in religion. Convinced of the humanity of Jesus he was a pioneer in presenting him as a Man of Israel continuing the glory of the old Hebrew seers.

> "I love the past, but I envy the future," he said. "The world is moving in the direction of what I may call a kind of Americanism, which shocks our refined ideas, but which, when once the crisis of the present hour is over, may very possibly not be more inimical than the ancient regime to the only thing which is of any real importance, viz., the emancipation and progress of the human mind."

He was a little suspicious and uncertain concerning the democratic tendencies which he saw about him. Yet he found comfort in the fact that the worst American vulgarity would not send Bruno to the stake or persecute Galileo. His hope was that the patronage of individuals and the church to aspiring youth and laborous scholarship would be continued in a society which might not have priests and capitalists. There is a sort of Mosaic tragedy as well as prophecy in his swan-song,

> Oh! what things you will know in forty or fifty years, which I shall never know! And then what humanitarian problems you will see solved!
>
> What is the Emperor William III?
>
> What will become of the conflict of European nationalities?
>
> What turn will social questions take? Will anything come out of the Socialist movements, properly speaking? What will be the fate of the Papacy in the near future? Alas! I shall die before I have seen these things, and you will know them.

He made the mistake common to nearly all the rationalistic thinkers of his period of thinking that the forces and institutions of conservatism were at the point of dissolution.

There is no doubt that Renan expected a rapid decline of the Catholic church, an opinion which his contemporary France seemed to justify. Knowing the weakness of the church from the inside it seemed to him that the new freedom of thought and the progress of science must disintegrate the church. He failed to perceive the powers of resistance and ability to reshape its attitude toward the new knowledge which were resident in the ancient institution. He was, however, an apostle of patience and never despaired of the ultimate future of religion.

> Religion is true in the infinite. When God shall be complete he will be just. I am convinced that virtue will turn out definitely one of these days, to have been the better part.
>
> In the true religion, schools will be the temples and philosophers the priests, for it demands universal culture. To know is to be initiated into God himself, touched, perceived, felt under his thousand forms by understanding of all that is true, and the love of all that is beautiful.

He had great hope of science in the emancipation of the human mind into a larger freedom. Reading his essay on "A Philosophical Examination of Conscience" we find him anticipating Einstein. His early mathematical training enabled him to grasp the intricacies of modern physical science, and his general erudition enabled him to solve the problems of philosophy and metaphysics in a masterly manner.

> "Science," he said, "above all will continue to astonish us by its revelations, which will put the infinite of space and time in the place of a petty world conceived according to the measure of imagination of a child."

The capacity of the French mind for bold, original, independent thinking is proverbial. In no field has this been more strikingly demonstrated than in religion. Calvin, Voltaire, Renan and Compte are intellectually and spiritually kin.

The world is debtor to Gallic genius in many forms. Deep down in his heart every Frenchman is a revolutionist and a soldier for freedom. Beneath his vanity, his levity and his love of glory there abides an eternal love of truth and a respect for morality. Renan was true to type. As a student and scholar he loved the past. He coveted and received the honors and praises showered upon him by his contemporaries. He met the criticisms and sneers of his fellows as a matter of course. He worried about one thing only,—what would posterity think of him? He saw that people would be divided in opinion. To use his own words:

> Heavens! how black I shall be! I shall be so all the more, because the Church, when she feels that she is lost, will end with malice; she will bite like a mad dog.
>
> In spite of this, I have confidence in reason. The enlightened portion of humanity, the only one for which I care, will form some esteem for me.

We liberals owe him a debt for he was one of that great host who belong to no time or country who clearly saw that the greatest danger to human liberty and progress is not monarchs and priests as such, but the forces of conservatism under any name or guise which inculcate a spirit of dogmatism and intolerance among the masses so that they become the willing agents of oppression and the ready tools of persecution.

A mob-minded majority is the acme of all tyranny.

Bigotry and superstition can only be destroyed by education, reason and morality. To this process Ernest Renan dedicated his splendid powers of intellect, his learning and his life.

Faults he had because he was human, but esteem he has because some of us are enlightened.

GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON.

The Periscope

Leon Mandel Assembly Hall at the University of Chicago has had many a baccalaureate sermon preached from its platform. Those who have attended these services given at American universities and colleges, are acquainted with the conventional type. While the University of Chicago makes a practice of securing one of the leading divines in the United States to perform this quarterly function, the services have always remained, with but rare if any exceptions, true to the nationally established pattern, the only difference being the increased aesthetic touch given by long processionals, vested choirs, and brilliantly hooded faculty. But on March 18, 1923, precedent was broken. Not since 1917 have the emotions of a congregation at a Mandel religious service mounted to the height reached on this particular Sunday. Gray heads leaned eagerly over the rails of their boxes, while time-honored department chiefs, forgetting their stereotyped air of boredom, sat forward in their seats grasping every syllable. And as if this wasn't sufficient there broke forth on two successive occasions an irrepressible applause. Only those acquainted with the environs of the occasion, can fully appreciate this emotional outburst. Mandel on a Sabbath morning, duly groomed for a dignified ultra-scholarly religious service; Mandel in the pomp and regalia of slow moving processionals, chanting choir, rich velvety gowns, and gorgeously colored hoods; Mandel the intelligential East of the West, where emotions cower before pedantic glory, and democracy of expression before stately order and ecclesiastical form; that this Mandel should witness on such an occasion, and before the presence of the University's newly appointed president, a Jacksonian outbreak of American enthusiasm—surely such was, as many said upon leaving the hall, an occasion rarely witnessed and never to be forgotten. And what was the cause of this dramatic scene? A Scotchman. Hugh Black, publicly confessing that he was violating conventionalities, was giving expression, with all the dramatic force of which he is capable, to his conviction that the paramount problem which faces this generation is the abolition of war.

Dr. Black is telling his English audiences that unless war can be abolished, the only hope for national salvation is to spend pence for food and clothing, and pounds for armament. And to America he says there is no middle ground. Either establish international peace, or start living on pennies, saving dollars for war. He indicated these facts which are now before us: First, if we tolerate war we must expect war, and if we expect war it is idiotic not to be prepared. Second, that the next war will be based on chemistry, and that civilians will not be spared. In emphasizing the immediate need for a practical solution of the problem, Dr. Black gave voice to three rays of hope:

The first he gains from observing the high ethical standards of the English-speaking peoples, and the fact that when these peoples meet at a conference (the

Washington Conference is an illustration) they are prepared to insist upon maintaining their common standards. The second pertains to the world position occupied by these English-speaking peoples. They are able to impose peace upon the world. Dr. Black's third ray of hope comes from his implicit confidence in the efficacy of law as a means for doing away with war. Law he interprets as "self-imposed limitation upon freedom," and he believes that it is the one means by which human society can regulate its life.

If such enthusiastic gatherings as this may be accepted as indicators of a slowly rising public sentiment in the interest of the outlawry of war, there is ground for belief that civilization will be saved.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

Impressions of Indian Scenes

A low brick and plaster building at Ahmedabad, India, is illuminated by a mystical light from earthen lamps. The sky is a sea of indigo-blue in which stars are burning with metallic brilliancy. A cool refreshing breeze laps the tree-tops and the surface of the Sarbarmati River.

In an open door surrounded by a dim light stands a slight naked figure—the loin cloth its only covering. The high forehead, the large eyes full of a remote sorrow, the resolute chin, all speak of a high and indomitable spirit.

Through the darkness outside comes the harsh demand, "Where is the Master? I have come to arrest him—" A low musical voice that vibrates through all India answers, "I am he." The darkness, the harsh demand, the gentle answer—are these but an echo, from the rim of the Orient that has drifted, drifted for two thousand years?

Other figures appear—and these kneel before the Master who lays his hands on them and blesses them. A little boy touches the naked feet with his lips sobbing, *"O bapuji—bapuji!"* Bending low the loved one kisses the boy.

Master and pupils then sing together an ancient song of love and duty toward God and man. A moment later the beloved form is engulfed in the blue darkness of a tropical night and the grating of a prison door shuts him from the world he seeks to save.

The gentle breeze has changed to a chill, moaning wind—it strikes the surface of the river in sharp retaliating blows that are heard throughout the city—perhaps throughout the world. Two thousand years from now it will still be moaning in the hearts of the Hindu race.

Six days later the sun beats fiercely down upon the Sarbarmati prison. The Master lies upon the ground asleep—Nirvana's peace upon his face, the Bhagwadgita and New Testament just within reach of his half open hand.

Thousands of devoted followers stand outside in the burning sun yearning to catch one glimpse of their dear leader. At length word comes that the Master bids them be non-violent and work for India's freedom by holding fast the *charka*—"The wheel of our salvation."

A week has passed—and now a throng, greater than any ever known within the city, stand before the court-house gates. Within, a helpless looking man who seems to feel the clutch of Fate upon him sits upon the judges chair.

A great hush falls. One dully hears the words "I read the charges against the accused," and then these words from out the Master's teachings come stinging through the air:

I shall not hesitate at peril of being shot, to ask the Indian soldier to leave his (foreign) service, for he has been more often used as an assassin than as a soldier to defend the weak.
His Excellency will learn that there is a higher court than (English) courts of justice—It is the court of conscience.
I hope and pray that God will give sufficient strength to India to keep her to the end non-violent.

The judge turns toward the accused and asks quite gently, as if he were groping after something, "Do you —plead—guilty—to—the charges?"

A thrill of pride and joy that tingles like an electric shock runs through the Hindu crowd as the swift answer comes in joyous outburst, "I do—I do!"

Then the Master rises—and a silence that is full of mystery—spiritual—yet tangible—pervades the room. The eyes of listeners dilate, their hearts beat faster, they feel the spirit of revolt leaping like a flame up from the heart, against injustice and brutality and blindness—

Sentence is passed—and the crowd moves slowly out. The glare of the sun, the dust that fills the eyes, the mocking "caw-caw" of the crows that hover overhead, are now but symbols of an order that chokes the spirit of righteousness from out the heart. Yet each repeats the Master's words "Keep the peace"—"Love all men"—"Never take sides with evil, though it call itself the law and slay you."

V. B. METTA.

OUT OF WORK—A DIRGE.

Have we thought of it, can we feel?
That half delirium, mind a'reel
Because one's job is gone, the tools no more
In hand, and hearts at home so sore?
"No work—no work—no work"—the dreary strain.
"No pay, no pay, no pay"—always a sad refrain.
Think what it means to children's daily food:
Think how a mother steels her angry mood.
How dully goes the day: how deadly drags the night!
Such cruel helplessness kills hope with fright.

A home—and nothing doing to make one's home alive:—
A home—yet everything for which we strive
Refused, abandoned, left in mirk,
Simply because there is no will, no chance, to work.
Imagination staggers at this wretched plight.
God send that all may join the fight
For every man a job, for every job a man—
His quickest good to fill God's social plan.

Q. L. DOWD.

THE STUDY TABLE

"Non-Violent Coercion"

A REVIEW.

Readers of UNITY will be vitally interested in a new book recently published by the Century Co., written by Prof. Clarence Case of the Department of Sociology in the State University of Iowa. The book bears the arresting and stimulating title "Non-Violent Coercion" and appears at a moment in the affairs of the world when its message ought to be welcomed. The spirit of the writer is ironic, his style crystal clear, his mind logical and orderly, his method eminently fair and scientific.

Prof. Case does three things: first, he makes an historic study of the most prominent non-violent philosophies, such as Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity and traces the development of the Christian peace sects down to the present time; secondly, he makes a study of the subject from the point of view of social-psychology; and thirdly, he tries to evaluate the non-violent method as a technique for attaining ends, with a few words in closing on the question as to how far it can be applied to the solution of our present world *impasse*. The plan of the book is thus comprehensive and will furnish much information needed by UNITY readers in their struggle against militarism.

The major portion of Prof. Case's work is taken up with the first of his three divisions,—the historical evolution of the idea. One cannot but wonder at his omission of the founder of the Jains from the list of important religions and philosophical teachers who practiced non-violence. It will be remembered that Gandhi's *ahimsa* doctrine of absolute "non injury" is derived from the Jain sect, which arose at about the same time as Buddhism, and the Jains have exhibited a most amazing loyalty to the dogma. However, this is the only serious omission which occurs to the writer.

A point which Prof. Case stresses, and a point of great historical importance, is the fact that among nearly all the great religious-philosophical systems which teach passive resistance and the evil of every kind of injury in general, there is almost no reference to war in particular. Confucius and Buddha not only do not outlaw war, but positively condone it. Almost the same situation obtains as to the teachings of Jesus, who never made a clear cut, concrete reference to the subject of international relations. If he had gone on record with a sharp, uncompromising, inescapable reference, then much of our discussion and interpretation would be needless and much present evasion impossible. But as it is, we have only the implications and the spirit to guide us. Prof. Case says that these implications lie at the root of all the Christian peace sectarian movements. But it is unfortunate that so few who recognize the personal implications cannot see the inevitable social logic. Perhaps sight has been dimmed by the will not to see. At any rate, the Christian Church became universal at the time when it ceased being uncompromisingly a peace sect.

Perhaps the most interesting, because least known, of all the successful experiments which the author quotes is that of Hungary, which we reproduce verbatim:

> The Hungarian story, in its passive resistance aspects, centers around Francis Deak, a Catholic landowner, and belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Emperor Franz Joseph was then striving to subordinate the ancient Hungarian kingdom to the power of Austria. The account runs in this wise:
>
> "What can we do?" said the moderates. "We cannot fight Austria with the sword—what, then, is left but to submit and make the best of the situation?"
>
> "Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed!" Deak exclaimed in response. "Woe—woe to the nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed."

Deak proceeded to organize a scheme for national education and industry, and a boycott against Austrian goods was set in motion. As relations between the two governments became more tense "Deak admonished the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality."

> "This is the safe ground," he said, "on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering be necessary, suffer with dignity."

He had given the order to the country—Passive Resistance;

> and the order was obeyed. When the Austrian Tax Collector came to gather the taxes the people did not beat him nor even hoot him—they just declined to pay. The Tax Collector thereupon called in the Austrian police, and the police seized the man's goods. Then the Hungarian auctioneer declined to auction them and an Austrian auctioneer had to be introduced. When he arrived he discovered that he would have to bring bidders from Austria also if the goods were to be sold. The government found before long that it was costing more to distrain the goods than the tax itself was worth.
>
> When the Austrians attempted to billet their soldiers upon the Hungarian householders, the latter did not resist except in a passive way, but the Austrian soldiers themselves protested against the decree, after trying to live in houses where everyone despised them. . . .
>
> Finally, on Feb. 18, 1867, the Emperor Franz Joseph capitulated and recognized the constitution and independence of Hungary.

Of such instances there are many in the volume, from the work of the Quakers in America and Europe through the industrial boycott, ending in a clear and adequate account of Gandhi and his non-co-operative movement in India.

Prof. Case does not show either the spirit or the intention of the propagandist and so he points out the weaknesses and failures of the various attempts to use non-violent methods. It will be good for the most tender minded and absolutistic pacifist to face these weaknesses and to reckon with them, for, in order to have an effective pacifism, there must be a brave facing of facts and a willingness to learn from the past.

The second part of the book takes up a most important aspect of the problem; namely, its relation to the fundamentals of human nature. Does non-violent resistance place too great a strain on the instincts? Is it too severe a discipline? Can we ever hope to have more than a handful of people at any one time practicing it? Is the pacifist an abnormal being from whom some essential quality is missing? Does he possess physical stigmata which mark him as belonging to a distinct biological class? Is he mentally inferior?

These are some of the interesting questions with which the author deals, and deals wisely. His conclusions should be known by all who desire to be adequately informed on the subject.

In the last portions of the book Prof. Case, while always cautious and guarded, evaluates the method. He never assumes the attitude of delivering a gospel which has been "revealed" to him as music was re-

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ADDENDA TO LETTER FROM CHINA.

[One mail too late for last issue came the following clippings, Mr. Whitaker writes; "Just last evening I mailed to you a brief article on China and some of her problems as related to the present world situation, and now in this evening's paper comes to hand the following items which I certainly would have included in the manuscript if they had only come to hand a day earlier. My statements in the article are based on what the Chinese themselves have told me all through this section; but perhaps the enclosed items from The North China *Star*, published in Tientsin, will lend added interest.]

SOLDIERS HOB-NOB WITH OUTLAW GANG.

Chung Mei Service.

Peking, Feb. 20.—The camaraderie existing between Chinese bandits and their appointed successors was illustrated at Hailin in the Kirin Province of Manchuria days ago. When a group of close to two hundred bandits made an attack on Hailin, which has considerable foreign interests, a complaint was made to the Commander of the troops on the Chinese Eastern Railway, General Chin Chin-lung, who immediately sent troops to suppress the outlaws.

The troops spent twenty-four hours outside of the city and then returned with the report that no bandits were in the vicinity. Upon investigation the authorities discovered the fact that the commander of the troops together with two of his junior officers had been associated with these very outlaws and hence had no desire to fight their former friends.

COMPEL FARMERS IN SHENSI TO GROW POPPIES.

Chung Mei Service.

Peking, Feb. 20.—According to foreigners living in that Province, Shensi is being well planted with the poppy this year so that the pockets of the militarists may be better filled.

It is reported that the farmers are in reality compelled to plant their fields and then the authorities come along and fine them for carrying out their orders. As it works out, the farmer receives about what a similar crop of wheat would have yielded him, while the militarists collect the difference by way of a fine.

CHRISTENDOM FOR A WARLESS WORLD.

To the Churches of Christ in All Countries—An Appeal from the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).

Fellow Christians and Sister Churches of all Lands:

The small fraction of the Christian Church which ventures to address this appeal to you, does so in a spirit of fervent hope that we may give our united strength whole-heartedly to uphold and advance the standards of peace which some followers of Christ have long cherished as a fundamental Christian principle.

Christianity seems to us to face a grave crisis and a divine duty. In this aftermath of history's most terrible war, we see two paths before us. One leads inevitably to another war by renewed preparedness of the most efficient military, economic, educational and religious means of waging it. The other begins with a complete rejection of war, and of all preparations for it, for any purpose and against any people; it demands definite organization for peace.

These two paths lie in opposite directions; we cannot possibly follow them both. There is no shadow of doubt on which of them are found the footprints and the sign-posts of Jesus Christ our Lord. Christ would not send His disciples where He Himself does not lead. "Follow me," has been forever His watchword. Shall not, then, the Christian Church follow its Leader with perfect loyalty along this path?

Such loyalty to Christ is consistent with loyalty to one's native land. The higher loyalty includes the lower, and gives to it all its best and brightest substance. The Christian's love of country finds its source, its inspiration and its direction in his love of God and his fellowmen. Christ taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; His church transcends all divisions of nationality, all prejudices and hatreds of nation for nation and of class for class. It must rise to the height of its divinely given mission. It must not depend on the leadership of generals or admirals, or financiers; nor await the changing policies of statecraft. In time of war, as in time of peace, it must keep its eye single to God's commands, and must draw constantly its Founder's immortal and stupendous contrast between that which is Caesar's and that which is God's.

As Christians, we are striving for "a warless world." We are firmly convinced that this can be achieved only by refusal to participate in war, simply and sufficiently because war is by its very nature at variance with the message, the spirit, and the life and death of Jesus Christ. We unite in supporting treaties of arbitration and conciliation, limitation and reduction of armaments, international courts of justice, a league or association of nations for the preservation of peace. This is well; it is a great achievement for statesmen to accomplish these things; but it is not sufficient for the Christian Church.

A principle is greater than any or all of its applications. The fundamental peace principle of Christianity demands the utter rejection of war, unequivocally and without compromise. With this principle in its charter the Christian Church can always utter a clear and unmistakable verdict on any specific measure of statesmanship that is proposed; it will not be misled or coerced, by argument or by force, into participating in any kind or degree of preparation for war, or into lending the sanction of Christianity to the waging of any war whatsoever.

The achievement of all the great moral reforms in history has awaited the development of a deep *religious* conviction in the hearts of the people. Vital, uncompromising Christianity when applied to great moral issues, has never failed to bring the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth another step nearer to realization.

The most pressing reform of our time is to abolish war, and to establish exclusively peaceful means of settling disputes and promoting co-operation among the nations. These peaceful means cannot prevail until the nations beat their swords into plowshares and learn war no more. To accomplish these results the Christian Church in practice and profession must condemn the whole system of war unequivocally and finally, relying not upon armed preparedness, but upon the awakened conscience of mankind.

Fellow Christians, we can scarcely exaggerate the loss and suffering of the Great War. There is a bitter Macedonian cry in our afflicted time for physical help and healing, but far more for the things of the Spirit—for faith and hope and love. What greater message of cheer and reconstruction could be brought to mankind today than the assurance that all who bear the name of Christ in every land have solemnly resolved to have no part in war or in preparation for war, but henceforth to work unitedly for peace by peaceful means alone? Shall we not make this venture of faith together in the love that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and that never fails? Shall the torch of spiritual heroism be borne by the Church of the living Christ, or shall leadership in the utter rejection of war pass from our hands to men of braver

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vealed to Browning's artist,—"God has a few of us He whispers in the ear." He does not *know*. But he thinks that non-violent coercion is to be a significant movement for the future, especially if it can be socially organized and carried out on a scale large enough to be impressive. Sporadic, individualistic cases of complete passivity he does not conceive to be of vast importance. But a movement like that of Gandhi he believes has not only great spiritual, but also great social, importance.

In conclusion, he says, "Perhaps it is only through a working partnership of such seemingly incongruous forms of behavior as non-violence and coercion, that the problems of social collision can be permanently solved. For the solution must be two-fold in character, avoiding the devastating furies of violence and terrorism on the one hand, and the stagnant and deadening unanimity sought by insipid sentimentalism upon the other."

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

and truer spirit? Which Master shall we who call ourselves Christians be known by all the world to serve, the God of Battles or the Prince of Peace?

With love and greetings to you all, we are your sincere friends,

Adopted and directed to be signed by Philadelpiha Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in session at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Third Month 31st, 1922.

DAVIS H. FORSYTHE,
MARY R. WILLIAMS,
Clerks.

and by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in session at Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Fifth Month 17th, 1922.

MORGAN BUNTING,
JANE P. RUSHMORE,
Clerks.

Endorsed by London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in session at Devonshire House, London, England, on Fifth Month 26th, 1922.

ROGER CLARK, Clerk.

Also by the Five Years' Meeting held at Richmond, Indiana, on Ninth Month 11th, 1922 *and other Official Bodies of the Society of Friends in the United States and Canada.*

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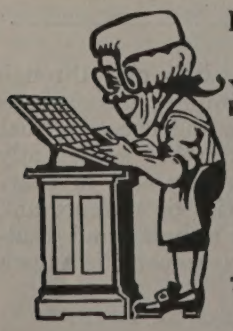

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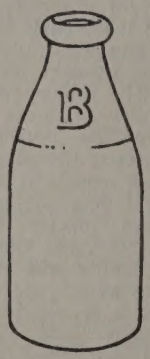

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